1: Titiev E-S (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

fields or are away from home much of the time. For the most part, however, children under six or seven years spend their waking hours at play. Little boys run races, wrestle and pull one another's hair, pretend to plow, and walk about carrying miniature hockey sticks with which they strike at a ball or at any small stone or object along the path. Girls prefer to play with dolls fashioned of cane or bamboo into human shape, *pudekkauta*. They take care of them as if they were babies, dressing and undressing them, and occasionally pretending to hold curing rites over them because they are supposed to be ill.

CHILDHOOD

Before they have reached the seventh birthday youngsters begin to pass out of the carefree stage of infancy, and to learn the tasks that are appropriate to their sex. Sometimes they receive spoken instructions from their elders, but more often they learn from observation and imitation. Adults make it a point to take them along when they leave the house, and to converse with them while they are at work. In this way children are made ready to undertake their first serious chores, which usually consist of herding and caring for sheep. Boys or girls generally serve as shepherds between the ages of six or seven and twelve. They take their flocks out to graze in the morning, and if they expect to remain away until late in the day they may take some bread or parched wheat, plain or sweetened with honey. At some time in the afternoon the herders drive their flocks into a corral or a field near home, and go into the house for the midday meal.

The children have various ways of amusing themselves in order not to be lonesome while they are herding. Most often they sing aloud the songs they have learned from their elders, and occasionally they shout something for other shepherds in the neighborhood to hear. They do not try to carry on actual conversations at long distance, but they get a sense of companionship simply from hearing one another's voices when they are out of sight. This is especially true on misty days, when each little shepherd feels cut off from the rest of the world.

1: Tinley E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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457 Sometimes, when he is out with his flock, a boy will practice hockey or run dashes by himself. At other times he may straddle a short piece of bamboo, pretending that it is a horse, and gallop about. He may even heighten the illusion by inserting bits of cloth at one end of the stick to serve as ears, and he may wind thread about one end for use as bridle and reins. Another favorite pastime is to collect bits of sticks and twigs, and to insert them into the ground in patterns that suggest houses, corrals, stables, animals, and similar familiar objects.

457 Girls may continue to tend sheep for an extended period of years, but boys are impatient to turn the duty over to a younger sibling at the first opportunity. Thereafter, boys begin to go into the fields with the men, and they learn to handle horses and oxen, and to perform agricultural duties. They also begin to take hockey more seriously, and they attend matches played by teams of adults. They race and wrestle more vigorously, and they become skilled in the use of slings and bolas with which they hunt small animals. Their sisters, besides herding sheep, are learning to cook and weave and to run a household. Before long teen-aged boys and girls acquire all the skills of adults and begin to assume the tasks and responsibilities of grown men and women.

787 457 Preadolescent brothers and sisters enjoy great familiarity. They joke and play together freely, sing, and tell stories. Occasionally, they test their fortitude, or allow their elders to do so, by burning bits of linseed wool or linseed straw against the skin of hand or arm. This custom, called *kopan*, was once widely in vogue and had a special significance. Every child on the verge of puberty had four marks burned with linseed on the wrist and elbow joints, and these marks were supposed to light his way to the other world if he died. *Kopan* is still commonly practiced. It is looked upon as a test of bravery, for a child who brushes off the hot glowing coal is branded a coward. It also has the significance of a minor rite of divination, in the belief that no serious injury will result if a youngster is destined to grow into a healthy adult.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Housse (1939, p. 249).

868 866 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Gusinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

[262 304] 861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children [276] (Housse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1936, p. 855).

[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan 762 (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awtin rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

form of thanksgiving to the Pillán for victory. This ceremony closely approaches the abstraction of Home, Country, and God.

Later in his captivity Bascuñan had occasion to spend several days in the company of one of the small sons of a chief. One afternoon he asked the child if he would like to learn how to pray. The boy answered affirmatively; he had already learned something of prayers from a Spanish captive. With little instruction the child recited the Pater Noster in Spanish, but without understanding what it was he was reciting. Bascuñan, speaking Araucanian fluently, decided to teach him in the Araucanian tongue. The child was delighted to understand the recitation. The merchant Bascuñan then asked him if he understood the idea behind the prayer. Yes indeed, was the reply. God could be none other than a great Pillán, superior to other Pillánes.[45] Bascuñan registered satisfied delight. The question is, should he have been so delighted?

In order to maintain a spirit of unqualified resistance the leaders of the estado, who manipulated majority opinion, instituted indoctrinational forms for boys and youths. Beginning at six years of age boys were taught the use of military weapons. By observing him the boy's tutors would decide which weapon he was most proficient with, and then he would be trained as a specialist in the use of that weapon. At the same time he was arduously trained in running and swimming.[46] Another type of training begun at this early age was the torture of Spanish captives. The boys were given knives and living Spaniards, then instructed in the arts of slow dissection, roasting, and eating.[47] They were further required to memorize certain verses which recounted Spanish offenses since the beginning of the war, and were made to recite them at the command of their elders. In this way a boy became a man with a clearly fixed purpose in life. As a youth the Araucanian would speak thus of his lance:

> This is my master: it does not order me to dig for gold, or carry food or firewood, nor to herd cattle, or to follow it about. And since this master sustains my liberty, it is with him that I wish to pass.[48]

There was seldom talk of peace in the estado. Even a chief, if he dared speak

of the estado, and likewise the son of a famous warrior. When the other chiefs learned of Bascuñan's identity they demanded his head to use as a trophy to incite peaceful Indians to war. By chicanery and ruse Maulicon saved him, and after some months of comfortable captivity restored him to his own people. His account of the adventure is invaluable, although it is somewhat tiresome to read. He was a creole and educated in Chile. He apparently felt compelled to show that a creole scholar could hold his own with a peninsular, hence his excessive quotation from and reference to classical authors.

45 Bascuñan, pp. 155-156. Also see Córdoba y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. 2, p. 26).

46 Olivares, p. 23.

47 Núñez, p. 62.

48 *Idem*, pp. 61, 105.

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855 Coluripe says it is a mixture of juice of the inner bark of the ilmou and salt. "It smarts, but soon the teeth drop out without pain. The first set of teeth is not the real set; it must come out."

856 The child creeps before it walks; it is expected to creep when about a year old. The mother of a 2-year-old boy explained that her child's left side had been lame since birth; except for this "he should be walking by now and no longer creeping." Creeping is usually done on hands and feet. "A healthy child always crawls on all fours." An occasional child slides along on a hip; a sickly one "may slouch along, sitting down." Having been tied to a cradleboard does not incapacitate the child for creeping.

Walking is an event in human development.—So are the ability to carry out an order, puberty (which ends childhood), and marriage.—"It is an important thing in any human life to be able to walk." It is [54] not celebrated, however. From birth until the child is able to walk, it is spoken of as "a small child" (pichiche); as soon as it walks alone, as "the small child walks now" (pichiche quilai). An endearing expression used by the mother with reference to her son who has just learned to walk is "My little boy is growing up now" (pichi ulnawüli); with reference to her daughter "she is little woman now" (pichi domo).

● 863 If a child does not walk when about two years old, it is helped to learn to do so. A 2-year-old boy was given such help during an interview. His mother supported him under his armpits while his 5-year-old sister swung one of his legs forward and then the other. Having done this a few times, she slid backward and coaxed her little brother to move toward her. The interpreter had seen a mother put a stinging insect, agrillo (kunig kunig), under the knee of a child that was not making a normal attempt to walk. To get away from the sting of the grillo the child took steps forward.

Sometimes a child learns to walk by being put into a small home-made 3-wheeled pushcart. The framework of the cart is of armpit height and is made of quila. It is topped off with two boards upon which the child rests its arms. The wheels are cross sections of a young tree trunk. "My sister has a little boy in such a cart now."

857 Parents take notice of a child's first laugh and first words, "and are glad the child is growing up right, but no one celebrates the events." A mother will say with joy, "Now, my baby speaks. Everybody in the family will be glad and pass the word along; it means the child is normal." Nothing was done to assist the child in developing early speech. "If we knew of anything to do, we would do it for my brother. He is older than 2 years and can speak only a few words."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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tion of a rule. Relatives, friends, and neighbors assisted each other in these occupations. Muday, the traditional alcoholic beverage, was formerly drunk; in more recent times, and at present, it is chicha, either home-brewed or obtained from Chilean dealers. If a family can afford it, Chilean wine is also taken. Non-Araucanians thought that some persons exhibited their taste for alcohol by eating fermented potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*, pp. *milk-ray*). 273

Today a log of chicha is consumed whenever relatives, friends, and neighbors get together. Traditionally, as noted, such times are threshing time and rule-building time; to these have been added the event of a sale of a greatly number of cattle or sheep; the baptism of a child; and all civil and religious feasts—never, however, when people are gathered for the ceremonies. "Most certainly not then; no one is interested at the ceremonies." Heavy drinking is usually begun toward the end of the event. Cooper's earliest sources consistently attribute heavy drinking to the Araucanians, with heaviest drinking done at feasts (1946, p. 741).

TEACHING THE CHILD

INSTRUCTION

Teaching the child was the responsibility of its immediate family, chiefly the parents, but also brothers and sisters. Grandparents, uncles, and aunts, and other relatives were the child's teachers only when they filled the place of parents, something which happened when a parent was ill over a long period of time, when a grandparent reared a child because of a wish or a necessity to have a companion, or when the child lived in the house of a grandparent, aunt, or uncle because the child's parents had deserted it or had died, or it was adopted for some reason. 267 645

While the child was very young, the mother was its chief teacher. As a girl grew older, she was instructed by her mother in household duties; the father instructed the boy in a man's work. In matters of character and moral training, parents often shared responsibilities; they took time out both to instruct and to council their children. "Whenever there is leisure time, or we think it is an opportune time to do so, like during an afternoon, my husband and I sit down with our boys—we have only boys—and instruct them like all fathers and mothers do—we advise them regarding things they must know, especially in what is the right thing to do."

The spokesman for a group of eight men, all collaborating, told that each son is trained directly by the father to have respect for his

19: Riggs E-5 (1946-1952) 1937
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§6.7 father and to obey him in all things; never to answer his father back;
§6.8 and to follow these instructions until his father's death.

Parents recognized their responsibilities in the training of their children. "We watch our children closely. We do not allow them to say anything that is not true; if they tell an untruth, somebody will say that their brother is the devil. Really we are very strict with our children in such things as lying or stealing." Aleyda schoolchildren said that they had been told by parents not to play on the way to or from school; not to steal; not to leave gates in fences open; not to get clothes dirty; not to fight; not to pilfer at home; and not to tear their clothes.

Contradictions recognize parents as the proper instructors. Informants made extreme fun of children whose homes were disturbed because parents disagreed and quarreled, were untrue to each other, or were not law-abiding. It was said of such parents: "No wonder their children are so poorly trained; there is no one in that family who can give them proper instructions; neither parent is doing right," or "One wonders how those children can grow up to be good. Since the parents are not doing what is right, they can give their children no corrections." Older relatives, today as formerly, often take it upon themselves to give good advice to growing boys and girls during the days of the ceremonies.

Generally speaking, the small child has great freedom and is not coerced into learning. "Until it does not have much comprehension, it cannot be taught much. The best way to bring up a small child is to ignore what it does; as it grows up, it will learn what is expected of it." As children develop, however, they are expected to learn within the limits of their comprehension.

§2.8 Variations in mental and physical development are recognized. "Quite certainly a child that has difficulty learning to walk or to talk should be helped; children are not all alike; some grow up as they should; others have to be helped. There are similar differences in grown-up people: some are slower than others." Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "If a child cannot comprehend well, parents merely say in a matter-of-fact way that he has a poor head; that he just cannot learn fast. They are never ashamed of a retarded child."

Parents are aware, too, of variations in response to character training. No explanation is given for a difficult child; it is hoped that it will grow up without giving serious trouble. On one occasion a father requested me to take pictures of himself and his children in the process of harvesting grain. His 7-year-old daughter who was helping him was either unwilling or frightened; she said she did not wish to

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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861 Teaching is often clarified by means of diagram or demonstration. A 70-year-old man made a diagram of the sibleus and the machinos on paper when explaining the location of the activities of each. A 38-year-old man made a graphic sketch of mountains and valleys to show the location of land (which was being considered for distribution among the people) that he hoped to obtain for his children. A 60-year-old woman gave a lively and detailed demonstration of the manner in which a marriage was formerly arranged: leaves from an apple tree, in whose shade we sat, represented members of the groom's family; leaves of lettuce from the garden, members of the bride's family; a blade of grass, the messenger, who was not a member of either family. Simu ends, she pretended, did the conversing. She resorted to this demonstration because the writer had asked her to clarify several points of an account which she had given the previous day. She noted with some annoyance that she was having recourse to a method used in teaching children.

868 In occupations the child is taught and made responsible for simple things first and more complicated ones as it grows older. A 70-year-old man said, "As soon as my boys walked, I trained them to pick up sticks and carry them to the fireplace. With this as a beginning, they worked at whatever they could do as they grew older. Whenever they saw me go out to work, they followed me to help me. When they were still quite small, they directed my oxen when I plowed or pulled logs."

Quoting a mother: "I taught my girls from little on how to tend to chickens and pigs, to wash dishes, prepare food, and wash clothes. When a girl is about 12 years old, the mother—or the grandmother, if the girl has no mother or the mother is sick—will say to her, 'Sometime you will be a housewife; in order to be a good one, you must from now on rise early with me, every day.' They rise then, each morning, when the birds begin to chirp; this trains the girl to rise early. The mother from then on teaches the girl one thing at a time and observes and directs her in her work. They sit opposite each other when the girl is learning so that the mother can direct the girl's work. The girl must work diligently. If a visitor comes to their ruka, the mother teaches her daughter how to serve him, and to do things for him." The mother motivates an older daughter by saying to her, "If you are industrious, you will more easily have a suitor; before long then a suitor will come for you. Some day I will die, and then you must know how to do all things expected of a woman. You must learn how to serve a husband well, too." Then in a very serious vein, the informant added: "The mother tells her daughter, too, that she can be a mother. 'I gave birth to you and reared you; you will have

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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children too, and you must rear them. If you will train your children as I trained you, you will have no trouble with them.' The mother tells her all this."

Older boys and girls everywhere taught younger brothers and sisters, either by letting them observe what they were doing and explaining the procedure to them, or by letting them help with the work and directing them in it.

INCENTIVES AND COMPULSIONS

Before the child is able to comprehend, incentives and compulsions used are very simple—indeed, they can hardly be called that. In general, the attention of a small child that is beginning to comprehend is distracted from conduct that is not conforming to accepted standards by saying "hatch" to it, once or several times. This is said in subdued tones. Fathers and mothers and older brothers and sisters were seen correcting small children in this manner. During an interview a mother took into her lap a 2-year-old boy who did much fussing and would not respond to her "hatches." When he continued being restless, she passed him to her husband, where he was quiet for a little while. When he began fussing again, she handed him to his 10-year-old sister, but slapped his legs before doing so. Other children who were noisily playing close by were repeatedly subdued by a "hatch" from her. Any child that is old enough to comprehend and does not heed "hatches" is spoken to in subdued tones, but in a stern voice; always in a disapproving manner. Not once did the writer hear a child corrected in a loud voice.

Old informants said that praise and rewards were seldom given in their childhood days. "To give a girl recognition for what she was, or did, was not our custom; the very fact that a parent was satisfied with her, and with what she did, was enough reward. If a boy's conduct was outstanding, he was rewarded by being sent to a cacique with an important message or with words of comfort to a family in which a death had occurred."

Today, too, a child able to comprehend is expected to do the usual things without praise or reward; extraordinary things or favors are praised and, occasionally, rewarded. Alepúe schoolchildren had been praised or rewarded materially by fathers, mothers, brothers, uncles, and aunts (but not by sisters) for work well done. One of the boys had been praised by his father for reminding him of several things which he, the father, was forgetting to do while they were on a journey. Other rewards received by boys were 10 pesos for tending a horse;

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Every boy and girl learns to ride horses bareback—boys usually at the age of 4 to 5 years; girls, when a little older. (Pl. 8, *2*.) Boys teach one another. An older brother generally teaches his little sister, or if there is no older brother, an older sister will do so. An 8-year-old boy was seen teaching his 4-year-old brother. Each owned the horse he was riding. The older boy said to the younger, "Hold onto the mane with both hands, just as I do." Then he set his horse into a gallop by pounding the horse's sides with his feet. The little boy's horse soon followed, also in a gallop. Both galloped around for a while in the open space near their ruka, the older boy in the lead and the younger one following. After that the older boy brought his horse alongside the younger boy's and they galloped abreast.

On another occasion a 10-year-old boy rode around on his horse, bareback, followed by the horse's foal and another foal a little older. They were in an open, grassy space near their ruka. His two little sisters, probably 5 and 7 years old, were there also. The boy on his horse lassoed a tree stump with a rope and then galloped into a position to make the rope taut. The two little girls chased the foals toward the rope. The foals galloped to the rope but not knowing how to hurdle it came to an abrupt stop, at which the little girls doubled up with laughter. This performance was repeated, to the great amusement of the little girls. "Those foals are so stupid: they cannot learn to jump over the rope!" Then one of the girls loosened the lasso, the boy coiled it, and was ready to lasso another stump when a boy, probably 12 years old, rode in on his horse, bareback also. The newcomer galloped about the space a while, then made his horse rear to show off before the other boy and the little girls. Soon the two boys rode abreast, leaning toward each other so that their heads touched, which amused the little girls.

Boys were clever in the use of the slingshot and seldom missed an aim; usually the target was a blemish on a rock, a leaf on a tree, or some similar objective. One boy shot a sea gull in flight, something he told with pride. Shooting small birds as a diversion was discouraged. No schoolboy had had the opportunity to shoot with a gun—only one famliy in the area owned a gun, and no one but the father was allowed to use it. Girls did not use slingshots.

HEALTH

OMENS OF SICKNESS, CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH

An omen of ill health—and of death, if sickness already exists—is the cry of the chofichofi, a nocturnal bird. "The cries are heard by

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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day, and let it settle. The liquid was then poured off into the boiling dye from which she had removed the skeins. At this point she said that there would be an offensive odor soon, because of the putrid urine, and that maybe we would like to leave the ruka. When the kettle was again boiling she returned the skeins to it and let all boil for a while, after which she squeezed a handful of yarn free of liquid and examined the color. After another 10 minutes she removed the skeins, and sent her daughter to hang them on a fence to dry. The teen-age daughter had assisted her all during the dyeing. "That is the way she learns; that is how I learned—by helping my mother dye." The same informant set commercial dyes by boiling the dyed yarn in water in which commercial alum had been dissolved. I did not see any tie-dyeing, noted by Cooper and described by his sources (1946, p. 717).

Weaving is done by women and older girls (pls. 57, *2*; 59). School girls younger than 15 years had not done any weaving. Articles woven today for use of men and boys are ponchos (makuñ) and belts (chamallwe); for women and older girls, dresses (kəpam), shawls (ikülla), belts (trarüwe), and headbands (trarulonko); for household use and for sale, blankets, lama, and choapino. Lama and choapino are used by Araucanians as throws for stools and benches, and as saddle covers. Chileans use them as throws and rugs.

Before setting up the loom, measurements of the article to be woven are determined and the loom adjusted to them. Measurements for clothing, as previously stated, are taken on the person who is to wear them. Generally, pieces of yarn serve as measuring tape; knots are made where measures end. "I made a poncho for him recently. I took these two measurements." The woman indicated two lengths—one from his neck to halfway between his waist line and knees, and the other from his neck to his thumb with his arm outstretched. The measurements for a blanket are taken from one already made, unless one is being woven for a specific person, in which case the length will depend on the height of that person. Measurements of lama and choapino depend on the use that is to be made of them. A woman will say, "I am going to make this choapino so wide and so long [indicating the dimensions with hand stretches]; the storekeeper wants two of that size."

Weaving is done on a rectangular adjustable frame called a clou. The frame is made by tying two horizontal beams (kəlo)—oblong pieces of wood planed down on all sides—to two upright poles (witralwitral) made of two saplings trimmed of twigs and bark. Shuttles (yiwülle) are either short, straight pieces of wood or stout twigs, or more often

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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854 said her mother sang a repetition of "sh" to several melodies. She
533 herself sang a Spanish lullaby to her children, one she had learned by hearing her mother sing it: "Por una manzana, calle, calle guagua. Allá vienen todos, guiadalos por el toro." (For an apple, hush, hush little one. There they all come, led by a bull.)

A mother was said to be [illegible] her small child dance to her singing if she moved it up and dow[illegible]er arms or held its hands and let it move its feet up and down on the ground while she sang to it.

TEETHING, SMILING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING

854 Nothing was done to develop early growth of teeth. "When it was
856 time for the first tooth to appear, it came; then another came; then another, until all had come." No developmental significance was attached to the appearance or the loss of the first tooth.

Formerly, the mother washed the baby's gums, if inflamed, with a decoction of bark of radal; today, young mothers use vinegar. Formerly, if a teething child ran a temperature, the mother rubbed its gums with unwashed wool of black sheep; today, young mothers use alum bought in stores.

Every tooth of both the first and second set, when it dropped out, was buried somewhere in the toldo. Places pointed out were junctions of wall and floor, fissures in walls, and places under rocks around the fireplace. "Not many do that today. But it is a bad thing to throw teeth away; things may happen. In any event our teeth are a part of us; they should be buried in the ground, for when we die the rest of us will be buried in the ground, also." Formerly, fingernail parings and hair cuttings were also buried in the house. "After death the person needs all these. If they are not all buried in the same place, the person has to run around to find them."

A baby's first smile is not celebrated, and never has been, but "it makes the father and mother happy." The mother will fondle the child lovingly for it, and tell others about it.

868 Usually children were not permitted to creep, but occasionally a mother might allow it, to give the child an opportunity to try out its strength. If it did creep, it did so on hands and feet; or it slid along on one hip. In general, when the child showed signs of wanting to creep, the mother taught it to stand, and does so today. "When this one [1 year 3 months old] wanted to creep, I taught it to balance itself by having it stand near me with arms straight down by its sides. A child can be taught to stand alone at 10 months: it will rise and fall, rise again and fall again, but finally it will learn to stand alone."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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In teaching a child to walk, many mothers still follow the traditional custom of making a pathway just wide enough for the child to walk in between two rows of colihüe sticks. The sticks are crotched at the top and are planted a foot apart. In the crotches of each row, colihüe poles are placed horizontally and fastened. The child is taught to hold onto the horizontal poles and coaxed to move forward by its mother who is at the other end of the pathway. She will be saying, "Come! Come! Come!" A listener-in remarked, "After a child has once learned to walk by this method, it can be coaxed to walk to other places by telling it to come to get something." A young mother had recently taught her child to walk by having it hold onto a low bench, and then to take steps to keep up with the bench as she moved it forward. If a child a year old makes no attempt to walk, the mother will switch its calves lightly with nettles. The child will then take steps to get away from the sting of the nettles. 868

A toddler old enough to run away is tied to a stationary object with a rope long enough to let it move around to play. "I often tied my children to a tree at that age, especially when I was weaving." A child's first creeping or walking is not celebrated as an event; informants were amused at the thought.

Nothing was done to bring about early speech development. "If the time has not yet come for the child to talk, it will not talk; when it is old enough to do so, it will talk." At about 10 months the mother began to teach it words, usually names, such as "father" and "mother." "It is done like this—at least I did it this way," said a 65-year-old woman. "I took a piece of bread and let the child hold it while I said, 'Bread,' and then I took it away from the child. The child would laugh. Then I would show the child the piece of bread again, and say, 'Bread. Bread. Bread.' I repeated this on different days, and soon the child said, 'Bread.'" Another mother, also in her sixties, had not used the above method but had shown a child bread or maybe a cup, and said, "Get me that bread," or "Get me that cup." Other mothers had merely talked to the child, and "the child learned to speak Araucanian as it learns to speak Argentine today." Today a child 2 years old speaks Araucanian if it is reared in a home where that language is spoken. "Formerly, everyone had to learn Araucanian; our parents would not allow us to speak Argentine; we had to speak Araucanian." [191]

NURSING, WEANING

Mothers nursed their children unless an unusual situation arose, for it was believed that mother's milk aided the child in developing a 953

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868 Practical work was learned by a child younger than 7 by observation and by participation. A lack of interest or willingness to help was reproved. At about 7 years of age, the child was given certain responsibilities. "Go into the house and tend to your olla, so the soup will not boil over." "I always helped to tend our sheep when I was a little girl." "I began to spin yarn when I was 9 years old." "A boy when 7 or 8 years old is sent to find a horse or a cow that has strayed away, or for hens that are no longer with the others." "Each one of my children has a garden plot. I show them how to plant vegetables, and I teach them to water their garden and to weed it. When I take fresh vegetables to market, I let them take the ones they have grown; with the money they receive for theirs, I let them buy clothes."

At 14 or 15 years of age a boy began to assume the responsibilities of adult work, such as raising cattle, shearing sheep, plowing and planting fields, and harvesting. Fathers were the teachers in this; but "my mother encouraged my brothers to be good workers, to be amiable when working with others, and to be attentive to the work that they were doing." A girl did a woman's work, such as weaving and cooking, at 11 or 12.

INCENTIVES AND COMPULSIONS

861 It was not customary to reward a child for work well done. However, an occasional parent, especially a mother, did so, usually with something the child stood in need of, more particularly clothing. More often as an incentive the desire of the child to do what was expected of it was aroused. Mothers would say, "When shearing time comes, I know you will be a good help"; or "This is for you; I know you will always be a good child." One informant had interested her teenage daughter in learning Arabic words from a woman whose laundry she was doing. To learn English she had the daughter ask the field assistant's help. The interpreter was asked by the daughter for lessons in German words. When an old woman was shown photographs of Navajo and Blackfeet, she called her grandchildren and explained, "These are Mapuche [indigenous people] from North America."

Compulsions consisted in dealing with a child in a serious manner, that is by talking to it, scolding it, or if necessary, switching it. Often during interviews small children were corrected in earnest words, but not with harsh or hurting ones. The usual expression was, "Look here! Sit down, and be quiet."

A woman in her sixties had not switched any of her children; she had talked to them, giving them good advice, and had scolded them.

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manʃana from manzana (apple); fanterra from bandera (flag, banner). Words taken from the Quechua are: lacar (lake, Lacar), neuquén (territory, Neuquén), and patagonia; also chiripe, chilipa, and chilipau, all three meaning pants. La pampa is Guarani. Molinari noted that the Araucanian language as spoken in Neuquén territory, and no other area, has many words accented on the last syllable; he did not believe this to be a dialectic difference but due to Guarani influence, the Guarani language having many words accented on the last syllable. It is a historic fact, Molinari pointed out, that the Araucanians occupied the region around the delta of the La Plata River over a long period of time; that while doing so they and the Guarani from the northern tributaries of the La Plata associated freely and carried on considerable trade.

A 59-year-old Araucanian woman told of the method used by the Argentine army in the early days to teach the Araucanians the Spanish language. "Oyartrun was witness to what I am going to tell you," she remarked; "he was an old man when he told it to me. I also knew the White man about whom I am going to tell you. The cacique of the lofche [governmental unit, pp. 346-351] of which Oyartrun was a member was Katrikura. These Araucanians were living near the place now called Rio Colorado. A troop of armed White men came upon them and fired their revolvers at them. Our people had only boleodoras and lances; they fought so well that the Whites had to flee. Our people killed everyone they laid hands on, except one White boy, about 15 years old, whom they took captive. The boy screamed and fought for himself. No one came to his rescue; his parents had fled with the rest of the Whites. Our men tied the boy's hands to his back and brought him to Katrikura. Katrikura said to the boy, 'What are you doing here?' But the boy did not understand Araucanian, and therefore could not answer. Katrikura then said to the people, 'We shall keep him and rear him and he will teach us Spanish.' And they learned Spanish from him, and this is how they learned it: An Araucanian would point at water or fire or wood or some other things and say to the boy, 'What is this?' The boy would call it by its Spanish name. And our people would repeat it after him. And this went on for a long time. The boy was growing older, always teaching Spanish. One morning, the cacique took the boy out into the open, just as the sun was rising, and said to him, 'My son, when you are 20 or 25 years old, and wish to marry a virtuous Araucanian girl whose father is rich, you may do so.' The boy looked at the cacique and said, 'Very well, father.'—He looked upon the cacique as his father.—The cacique said, 'I will help you; I will give you land and

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animals. I want to help you; but you must speak our language.' Since the boy grew up in the cacique's family, he spoke perfect Araucanian. Later he found out who his own parents were, but he never went back to his family." The informant then told of Araucanians who were taken captive by Argentines and reared by them: "They learned perfect Spanish. My husband's two sisters were kidnaped by Whites when very small, and taken to Buenos Aires where they still live. They, too, do not want to return here to their people."

Another method by which the Araucanians learned Spanish was told by a woman who had heard old men tell about it: "When the Argentines came here and took over our land not one of our people knew enough Spanish words to talk with them. So they taught our people to speak Spanish. The commander of the army made our people stand in a row. Then he ordered one person after the other, down the row, to repeat Spanish words and sentences after him." She indicated individuals standing in a row and pointing a finger at each one successively said: 'You, you, say Buenos Dias!' 'You, next one, say Buenos tardes.' 'You, next one, say Buenos noches, my commander!' Our people could not pronounce the words as he did, although they tried hard enough. So the commander made them repeat and repeat and repeat the words. And that is how our people learned Spanish. Our people did not mind too much having to learn the Spanish language, but they resented it when they were made to march before the officers and speak Spanish words. The women were obliged to wear their chamall (homewoven clothes) and silver ornaments and their ojotas (footwear). Our people have disliked the Whites ever since for this." She halted a moment and added, "But they say they came to civilize us. In due time Araucanian men were drafted into Argentine military service where they learned to speak Spanish well. Upon their return home they taught it to others, especially to their children."

Informants were not aware of differences in their language as spoken by women and as spoken by men—something a non-Araucanian who had lived among Araucanians for many years was certain existed—unless variations such as the following were meant: A man addresses his father as chau; his mother as ñuke; his brother and sister each as piñe; a woman does not use these words when addressing the same persons. A man speaks of his son as ʃot'ɔm, and his daughter as fiawe; a woman speaks of both as peñeñ.

The Araucanians had no written language. Pictographs found in many places formerly occupied by Araucanians are not Araucanian, it appears. Saiko, who had studied the pictographs in many places,

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553 [603] It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

[578] Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems [735] [782] to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom falling into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of [769] morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

593 [861] The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the [428] daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

858 868 In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores – in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the *ruka*, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

868 861 As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father. [593] There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children

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grow older, competence is demanded by both parents, who express considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well.

Parental annoyance does not often lead to physical punishment. Children are seldom punished, although often scolded. Parents and grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is suppressed when the child is young.

A mother enjoys suckling her children and gives them the breast to soothe them. It is not uncommon to see children with a full set of teeth taking their mother's breast under certain circumstances, often when the mother and child are away from home and the child is tired and restless. I have seen it occur at funerals, weddings, and religious ceremonies at which children whom I had previously thought were weaned took the breast along with a newborn sibling. It is said that in days of polygynous households co-wives took turns nursing each other's children, but as far as I could discover (and there were no nursing children in any of the polygynous households I visited), this does not occur today unless the mother has no milk or is otherwise indisposed. In that case the child is sometimes nursed by a relative or close friend or sometimes fed gruel or canned milk, there being little fresh milk available on the reservations.

Both mother and father take an interest in their children's toilet training, although the mother has the most responsibility simply because she is with them more than the father. The Mapuche are not rigid in this training and apparently are not disturbed by a child's soiling himself and the floor. Either the mother or the father sweeps or scrapes the excrement outside and cleans the child with a wet cloth.

One aspect of a child's early upbringing about which parents seem rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself.

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main

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855 source of comfort and security during the early years of childhood, despite the father's willingness to pamper and fondle his youngest children in his spare time. This is partly due to the fact that a father is often too occupied with other matters during most of the day. Children are generally within their mother's sight throughout the day, even though playing outside the *ruka*.

855 857 Disputes between children are settled somewhat authoritatively by their mother if she is annoyed at the disturbance they are making. Otherwise a mother will take a good deal of time in settling their differences, listening to the disputants and giving her judgments on a fair settlement. This is also true for the father, and, in general, parental action in such matters might be described as "rational," explanation rather than dictum being the characteristic way of settling squabbles among their children—at least until parental patience is exhausted.

868 When a girl reaches the age of ten or twelve, her mother or older sister devotes more serious attention to her instruction in domestic duties. For one thing, she will be taught how to prepare a complete meal rather than merely assisting with part of it. She begins to take over more responsibility in household management. Mothers boast [521] of their daughters' ability and, apparently to dissemble their feelings of pride, tend to complain about certain lacks. They find fault with details or else complain of something which is done almost perfectly, by way of indicating that their daughter customarily does much better.

If a girl has recently learned to prepare and bake bread she is usually open to some uncomplimentary remarks from her siblings in [552] regard to her efforts and the quality of the bread. This embarrasses her considerably, and she might break into tears or run from the house. These are trials for the girl, and she must weather them over an extended period. She will be reminded of her failings periodically. Her mother offers her some consolation and suggests ways in which she might improve herself, but she does not coddle her. If her first attempt goes very badly, the girl might not consent to try her hand again for a long time. This is generally condoned by the mother. If the girl manifests extreme obdurateness, however, her mother's patience wears thin and a minor family crisis might result. The teasing remarks and grimaces of her siblings complicate the girl's difficulties. In time all girls become fairly proficient in cooking and baking, although there are differences between sisters in the quality of certain

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dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often acknowledged by the girl herself.

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime.

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is replaced by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or *chicha* are served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings.

Father-Child Relationship

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him.

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult work.

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work. A boy looks forward to doing field work, which he has been conditioned to regard as one of the proper adult roles.

Although a boy does not fully engage in field work until he reaches the age of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, when he is trusted to plough, harrow, or harvest by himself, he is generally allowed to help in some limited way under the supervision of his father before this. As soon as this type of work is open to him, a boy assumes adult mannerisms, seriously discussing agricultural matters which he has heard others discuss for many years. Now he listens and talks with greater interest and intensity. He strives for his father's approval and, if he is fairly competent, usually is encouraged by him. He is also subject to the family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, however, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learning process, in which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father – even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not unusual today. The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown sons, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions – especially those concerning the homestead – are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was